

114 /17 cont./

1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book Beginnelsen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht. /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor... has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

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Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing, it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to

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the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

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Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that
[608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a mem-
ber of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to
this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related
group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
124 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
612 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala
● 592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not
included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

124 Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
612 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group.
The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a
traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the
Kapala, a prominent man called Mangerre was used for the
same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with
respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said
that they belong to Mangerre's group of relatives. With regard
to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established.
For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the
Kapala group, the second the Mangerre group, and the last the
Rest group.

621 The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129
houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangerre group 18,
and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.

[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of rela-
tives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived
distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five
houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases
persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

● 542 /29 cont./ The Household; Composition

A household is formed by people who live together in one house. The investigation in 1948, which covered 129 houses and which attempted to obtain an insight into the composition of the household, produced the following results.

1. With one single exception members of a household were always kinsmen. 2. In the majority of cases a house was inhabited by from one to two families, and in the latter case this was almost always a parental couple with a married child living with them. 3. In most cases where other kinsmen lived in the same house as this family (or these families), they were very close kinsmen (first, second, or third degree). 4. Among such additional members of the household who are not members of the family, a /30/ certain preference was to be observed for living with a female relative. Finally, it was noted that one avoids bringing together potential spouses in one house.

Since here the occupants of the registered houses were subject of this investigation, the data did not have to be confined to houses occupied by members of the Kapala group.

The 129 houses of kampong Bontoramba comprised 787 persons: 382 men and 405 women on July 1, 1948. This is therefore an average of 6.1 persons per house.

In 127 of the 129 houses, there lived only people who were related to each other. The two exceptions merely prove the rule. The first concerns a friend of one of the sons of the house who had been lodging for a few months with the last named. The second concerns a childless married couple who had settled in Bontoramba after a marriage by flight and who had temporarily been taken into the house by another married couple coming from the same district as they and living under similar circumstances. Three weeks after the date of registration, this couple appeared to have moved elsewhere. The reason given for this was a quarrel that had arisen because this married couple was very lazy and gave practically no help in keeping house.

● 592 /30 cont. / The distribution of the married couples over the various houses was as follows:

- in 1 house there lived three married couples;
- in 24 houses there lived two married couples;
- in 81 houses there lived one married couple;
- in 23 houses there lived no married couple, but, for instance, a widower with his children, or an old unmarried woman with a few orphaned nephews and nieces.

Of the 24 houses with two married couples, 23 were occupied by married couples related to each other; the 24th was the case just reported, which turned out to be very temporary. In 22 of the 23 cases, the kin relationship was that of an older and married child; in the 23rd a brother and sister lived with their respective spouses.

[591] The three married couples who lived together in one house consisted of one parental couple with two married children.

Of the 23 two-family houses in which only kinsmen lived, 15 were occupied by these two families alone (that is to say, parents plus children, including one married child with /male or female/ spouse and /31/ child/ren/.) In the remaining 8 cases, one or more kinsmen of one of the two spouses lived with these two families.

In the 81 houses with one married couple, it appeared that in 52 cases this married couple occupied the house as a closed family unit (thus, only parents plus children); in the remaining 29 cases, one or more kinsmen of man or wife lived with them (1).

1. An exception has already been reported on p. 23.

In the three-family house one kinsman of the man lived there in addition to the three families.

592 /31 cont./ Excluding the 23 houses without a complete family and the two-family house in which the two families were not related to each other, there remain 105 houses. Therefore, in $52 + 15 = 67$ of these one or two families reside without other kinsmen. In the rest, namely 38 houses, one or more kinsmen lived with the families.

A tendency for a family to live in a house without other people can be observed.

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602 Examining these kinsmen more closely, it becomes apparent that close relatives are the most numerous, and that only a few distant ones were taken into the house. Of these latter, it was always stated that they no longer had any brothers or sisters, and that therefore they had now been taken in here. After all, where there are no close relatives, distant relatives take their turn, and since there are often more of these, personal preference plays a role in the choice of the house where one settles.

In addition to the respective families, 61 additional persons lived in the 38 houses (2). The kin connections which will be

2. The single member of the household who was not a kinsmen (mentioned above) was not included.

recorded are traced from the oldest married couple residing in the house, a so-called basal married couple, regardless of whether the members of the household are related to the man or to his wife. These 61 persons then appear to be 7 mothers and 4 fathers, widows and widowers respectively; 14 unmarried sisters and 6 unmarried brothers; 9 grandchildren, whose father or mother was deceased or divorced; 8 aunts (paternal sisters) and 3 uncles (paternal brothers) of the basal married couple; 1 brother's son; 5 male or female first cousins (samposikali); and finally, 3 distant cousins (kamanakang samposikali) and 1 distant uncle (purina sampopinruang).

592 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40
662 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the
basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-,
or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures
[591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes
562 in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.

835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely
592 household affairs.

252 For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were
592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

556 2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time
592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

286 /37 cont. /

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1. Here again the Kapaia group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81-houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

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One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

[609]

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The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The

462 household always constitutes the center of these activities.
592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs.

[476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

241 By no means does every house have its own plow.
592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

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1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangerre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

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although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each
602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

476 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
602 by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence
than a household which forms part of a large related group
living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are
differences between a small and a large group of relatives,
where the household or a single family, as the case may be,
appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a
certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary
line between a large and a small related group. We shall
here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists
of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9
houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a
large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then
the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an
average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes
understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7
houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus
around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because
in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

- 592/39 cont. / cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
- 512 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
- 602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
- 609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

582 The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
602 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangerre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land 88 ares dry land
Mangerre group:	6 ares sawah land 66 ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land 22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

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2. In the Indish Verslag / (Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangerre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

• [592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangerre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

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I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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591 /53 cont. / Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in
● 592 their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the
612 Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house /holds/s.

groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Trans- migrants	Total Number of In- dividuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

166 /53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period
591 of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed
●592 houses.
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The subdivision into Kapala, Manganre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Manganre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Manganre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Manganre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

166 According to these figures, migration is just about equal
591 among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there
592 are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

(125)

1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

166 / 54 cont. / located in another kampong emigrated there.

591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family

- 592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months. / 55 / The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

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591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
● 592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.

[861] Experience teaches that in another environment such
naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the
wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly
married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a
young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for
a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A
woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female
relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and
sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally,
these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result
is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same
combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but
always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied
reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time.
Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me
to be equal to that of the prewar
period. Nothing would suggest
that the Japanese period or
contacts thereafter had a
stimulating influence upon this
mobility.

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To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however,
another element of this culture must first be described; this
is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individ-
ual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks
violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under
forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly
all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one
family. They said that they had a very small house and were
very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master
family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
592 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
houses have many more. The population has risen some
despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving
around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with
the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty
years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many
places, especially to Banjarmasin to work in connection with
rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk
about it, but they have no money so they have to remain.
When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits
to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in.
I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the
poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend
to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies.
They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They
mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world,
but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved
in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same
here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people
from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and
207 Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampung
brings the mail to the kampung of Balombaru. And if he
doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay.
There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding
literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst]
put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said
also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her. 773 778

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find these Makassarrese here very cooperative and polite. The atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows: 609 162

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE

		Houses:	
1.	5.6	1.	51
2.	4.6	2.	13
3.	5.2	3.	49
Total	5.1		113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather- worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop- keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular
change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also
electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and
water pipes. But in general, things are not too different
from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing,
however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on
houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade
cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-
Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear
shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every
woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did
so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.

[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of
them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid
changes in American material culture in the past fifty years
they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the
United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They
saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
462 women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion
262 when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that
now there was much butter used by the commoners and this
was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of
-tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they
cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of
airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the
United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also
impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already
being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Fre-
quently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average
is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are
few. However, each woman tries to keep one for
feasts.

to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles.

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do."

Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many; (2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned.

Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things